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ST. PAUL'S USE OF MILITARY
TERMS IN HIS EPISTLES

A Thesis Presented to
The Faculty of Concordia Seminary
New Testament Department

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Bachelor of Divinity

by

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ST. PAUL'S USE OF MILITARY TERMS IN THE EPISTLES

I. Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is not to show how Paul was influenced by the Gentile world into which he was born. The writer will not try to point out how the intellectualism of the Greeks and the materialism of the Romans influenced Paul in his theology. It will be taken as a positive premise in this thesis that Paul's theology was of divine origin, that his words were inspired words, that his teachings were from God instead of being a mixture of the best thoughts or philosophies that either of these civilizations produced. The fact that Paul was born into and lived in a world that was, to say the least, unsettled and negative in its religious thinking, does not say that Paul gleaned his teachings there. However, he did use the language of the times and he did use words and thoughts which were common parlance in that day. Seeing how Paul used these words, particularly those with a military meaning, and applied them to his message of the Gospel sheds new light on the full meaning he intended to convey. It will be the purpose, then, of this thesis to show where Paul possibly became acquainted with the military terms he uses; to briefly examine the arms, armor and military tactics of the times; and to pick out references from his epistles and exagize them on the basis of this background.

ST. PAUL'S USE OF MILITARY TERMS IN HIS EPISTLES

II. A Short Summary of Paul's Life and Journeys.

About the year 1000 B.C. the shrewd citizens of Tarsus built a wagon road through the solid wall of the Taurus mountains to make a land route for the trade of Syria and Asia Minor. The Cydnus River opened into one of the best harbors on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea where the "ships of Tarshish" (I Kings 10:22) dropped anchor and later where the Roman mercantile marine found a prosperous port. Through this cosmopolitan city of Tarsus flowed the trade and commerce of the southeast and the northwest; here all races and religions met and mingled. The Roman eagle was the sign of the government over Tarsus in later times and, in all probability, there was a garrison of Roman legionaries here. In this teeming city, during the early years of the first century Saul was born.

His father was a Roman citizen, so Saul could claim that citizenship also—a fact that he put to good use later in his life. According to Acts 23:6 we see that Saul's father was a Pharisee of the tribe of Benjamin. Saul also was trained in the Jewish religion according to the customs and teachings of the Pharisees. Such were some of the influences which cradled the infancy of St. Paul; and such was the early teaching under which his mind gradually rose to the realization of his position as a Hebrew child in a city of Gentiles. "In St. Paul's early life the political state of the inhabit-

ants of Cilicia would be that of subjects to a Roman governor; and the Roman officials, if not Roman soldiers, would be a familiar sight to the Jews who were settled in Tarsus.¹ So from his infant years Paul was familiar with the sight of the Roman soldiers. He knew the pounding of their feet and the clanking of their arms and, more than likely, as a small boy watched the drills and the training of the legionaries. So then, he was born into a military world as well as into the inner circle of the students of the Torah.

Circumcision on the eighth day made Paul a member of the people of the Covenant. No doubt "the rules respecting the diligent education of children, which were laid down by Moses in the sixth and eleventh chapters of Deuteronomy, were carefully observed; and he was trained in that peculiarly historical instruction spoken of in the seventy-eighth Psalm, which implies the continuance of a chosen people, with glorious recollections of the past, and great anticipations of the covenant of the future."² Part of the early training in his home was also dedicated to the learning of a trade. The trade which he learned, likely the one in which his father worked, was that of making "cilicium," a coarse cloth from the long hair of the goats of Cilicia. "Tents were made of this cilicium . . . it was a flourishing business; for the Roman armies alone kept the tent-makers of Asia Minor fully employed."³ Here again is a possible contact with the military of the Roman world.

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1. Conybeare and Howson, Life and Epistles of St. Paul, p. 22.
 2. Conybeare and Howson, op. cit., p. 25.
 3. Wm. Dallmann, Paul, p. 14.

"The educational maxim of the Jews, at a later period, was as follows: 'At five years of age, let children begin the Scripture; at ten, the Mishna; at thirteen, let them be subjects of the Law.'⁴" It is generally accepted that the education of Saul strictly followed this rule so that he was thoroughly instructed in the Jewish religion at an early age. After his instruction at home, it is believed that somewhere between the ages of ten and thirteen he was sent to Jerusalem for higher education. Here, at the feet of the eminent Rabbi Gamaliel, he learned more of the written Law of Moses and also the unwritten law of the scribes and traditions of the elders, and the vast mass of restrictions and regulations of the Pharisees.

The political situation of Jerusalem at this time was one of tension—a feeling that must have made its mark on Saul with the deep patriotic sense that was imbued in him by his Pharisaic training. "The (Roman) governor resided in the town of Caesarea. Soldiers were quartered there and at Jerusalem and throughout Judaea, wherever the turbulence of the people made garrisons necessary. Centurions were in the country towns (Luke 7:1-10); soldiers on the banks of the Jordan (Luke 3:14)."⁵ Even when he went into the temple to teach or to worship, the Roman military was with him, for "at the northwest corner (of the Temple) frowned the Castle of Antonia, with Roman guards pacing up and down, looking for the least sign

4. Conybeare and Howson, op. cit., p. 48.

5. Conybeare and Howson, op. cit., p. 51.

of trouble to call the garrison to quell the riot." ⁶ There was much for this young Pharisee to notice and perhaps hate in the pervading presence of the might of Rome in this Holy City. He must have often thought of how different things would be when the power of the conquerors was broken and his Messiah would rule.

As the zealous Pharisee, Paul embarked on a program of persecuting the followers of Jesus of Nazareth until God Himself put an end to his destructiveness. The conversion on the way to Damascus is a well-recorded fact. The change that took place in the Pharisee Saul is an evidence of God's almighty power. Saul, the persecutor of Christians, becomes Paul, the Apostle to the Gentiles. After a trip into Arabia where he meditated on God's Word and received further revelations of God's Will, Paul returned to Damascus. Here he felt the sting of the Roman military machine. We are told in II Corinthians 11:32,33 that the governor of Damascus "kept the city of the Damascenes with a garrison, desirous to apprehend me; and through a window in a basket was I let down by the wall and escaped his hands."

After visiting Jerusalem and Tarsus and meeting with Disciples and Christians, Paul was brought to Antioch by Barnabas. This city at the time of Paul had about 500,000 inhabitants; the third largest in the empire, and was often called the "second Rome." Its grove of Daphne was a sanctuary for a perpetual festival of vice. True religion was foreign to the nature of the city. But besides getting a glimpse into the depravity of this city of culture, Paul also saw more of the iron hand of Rome, for this city was the court of the

6. Dallmann, op. cit., p. 20

Legate of Syria with a Roman garrison. Several of the city's coins showed the Roman military character of the city with their reproductions of Roman Standards—symbols of Roman war and victory.⁷ The military character of Antioch was diffused through all of its population.

Somewhere around the year 46 A.D., Paul with two others, Barnabas and John Mark, undertook what is called the "First Missionary Journey." The first city visited was Cyprus, an island in the north-east part of the Mediterranean Sea. Since the year 22 B.C. Cyprus was under the control of a Roman proconsul. Paphos, one of the towns on the island, was the residence of the Roman governor, Proconsul Sergius Paulus, with whom Paul dealt and eventually won to the Christian faith.

In the visit to Pisidian Antioch, Paul again found the atmosphere heavy with Roman influence. This city, "like Philippi, was a Roman Colonia...The insignia of Roman power were displayed more conspicuously than in other towns in the same province, because it was made subject to military colonization at an earlier date."⁸

Iconium at the time of Paul was little different from the "other important towns on the principal lines of communication through Asia Minor. The elements of its population would be as follows: a large number of trifling and frivolous Greeks,...Roman officials, civil or military,...and an old established colony of Jews..."⁹ Here Paul and Barnabas met with some success but the unbelieving

7. For illustrations of these coins see W. M. Ramsay, The Cities of St. Paul, p. 274.

8. Conybeare and Howson, op. cit., p. 152.

9. Conybeare and Howson, op. cit., p. 163.

Jews created a riot and so Paul and his companions fled to smaller towns in Lycaonia.

Both Lystra and Derbe were centers of Roman activity. Derbe was largely Roman because of its importance "on the frontier of Roman territory, which made it a customs-station and a centre of Roman business and official life. The development of Lystra was due to its being selected as the seat of a Roman colony, which required the construction of a Roman road to connect it with the other Colon-¹⁰iae..." So the background and character of these two towns was essentially Roman and St. Paul came in contact with the politics and administrative power of Rome again.

On the "Second Missionary Journey" conditions were much the same. Several of the high points in Paul's contact with the forces of Rome might be mentioned, however. At Philippi, which Conybeare and Howson characterize as "a military, and not a mercantile, city,"¹¹ Paul came up against the might of Rome. When he called the spirit out of the slave girl the charge against him and his companion was, "These men are Jews and they are disturbing our city. They advocate customs which it is not lawful for us Romans to accept or practice."¹² (Acts 16:20,21) After the "Praetors" gave the order that they be scourged, Paul and Silas were cast into prison. They tasted the wrath of Rome in the dungeons until the earthquake broke loose their bonds. Then they had intimate talks with the Roman official who was their jailer and finally showed that they knew Roman law by demand-

10. Conybeare and Howson, op. cit., p. 410.

11. Conybeare and Howson, op. cit., p. 253.

12. Quote from The New Testament, Revised Standard Version, p.201.

ing that the "Duumviri" come to them personally and release them after their unlawful imprisonment.

In his journey to Athens, Paul probably learned of the Greek heritage in arms and battles besides probing into the multitude of false gods and vague religions there.

Corinth presented a strong front for worldliness and vice against Paul as well as being an example of a city full of the materialism of the Roman empire. The city was strongly Roman since 47 B.C. when Julius Caesar rebuilt it and made it a Roman colony. Corinth became "the key to the Peloponnesus and a very strong fortress and a great commercial center and the capital of the Roman province of Achaia."¹³ Paul came into direct contact with the proconsul of Rome, Gallio, in this visit to Corinth.

On the "Third Missionary Journey" Paul covered much the same ground as he did on the second. We may suppose that his contacts¹⁴ with the Roman influences were somewhat similar.

The greatest influence that the Romans could have brought to bear on Paul, however, undoubtedly came after Paul's imprisonment at Caesarea. Because the Jews accused him of bringing Gentiles into the inner court of the Temple and started a riot, the Roman guards from the Tower of Antonia came to Paul's aid. Claudius Lysias, the Tribune, took him into custody and saved him from the wrath of his countrymen. When Lysias learned of the plot to assassinate Paul, he ordered a large company of Roman soldiers to protect him on his

13. Dallmann, op. cit., p. 146.

14. For a general outline of Paul's journeys, the writer followed the "Key to the Tree of Paul's Life" as found in F.C. Thompson, The New Chain Reference Bible, p. 271.

journey to see Felix, the Procurator. From Felix, Paul was sent to stand trial before governor Festus. Festus sent him to King Agrippa who would have released Paul had it not been for Paul's appeal to Caesar. So, "Paul was taken to Rome as a state prisoner, in company with other prisoners, all in charge of Julius, centurion of an Augustan cohort, or Imperial Guard."¹⁵ After living through a shipwreck which occurred on the way to Rome, Paul and the escorting soldiers finally arrived at Puteoli and then finished the journey by an overland trip to Rome. At Rome, Paul was probably given over to the custody of the "Prefect of the Pretorian Guard" or, perhaps, to the custody of the "Princeps Peregrinorum," the officer of the soldiers from abroad who conducted prisoners to Rome.¹⁶ During his stay in Rome, Paul was linked to the arm of a Pretorian guardsman by a chain. For over two years Paul was under the watchful eye of a Roman soldier (Acts 28:16ff). Many believe that Paul was released from his imprisonment early in 62 or late in 63 A.D. and wrote several epistles while he visited one congregation after another. Dallmann holds that he was again imprisoned and, after a series of trials, was beheaded by order of Emperor Nero.¹⁷

Throughout the last years of his life Paul was almost constantly in contact with the Roman military. Surely this had a bearing on his writing, on his vocabulary and his illustrations. The view of the writer is summed up in a statement of D.A. Hayes in his book, Paul and His Epistles: "He lived in the atmosphere of military

15. Dallmann, op. cit., p. 239.

16. cf. Dallmann, op.cit., p. 275.

17. cf. Dallmann, op. cit., p. 329.

conquest and domination. He found soldiers everywhere. He never got beyond the reach of their influence and presence. Whether free to roam anywhere in the vast empire or chained to a soldier and living with him day by day, he saw military companies marching and individuals standing sentinel, the representatives of war and conquest, of law and order in every place. This soldier life was forced upon his attention all his life long and we are not surprised to find a multitude of military metaphors in his writings. The soldier's abstinence, the continual warfare, the armor of light, the long train of the Roman triumph furnished him with many suggestions concerning the conditions and the conquests of the Christian life."¹⁸

18. D. A. Hayes, Paul and His Epistles, p. 78.

III. Arms, Armor and Warfare in the Time of Paul.

The purpose of this chapter is to give a short summary of the military life of the ancient Romans so that the metaphores Paul uses in his Epistles may be understood in their full meaning. The weapons of the Roman soldier are somewhat foreign to us, and for that reason a discription of them and their use is in place. The armor of the day is strange to our modern warfare and the functions of the various pieces used may help us to understand their importance. Battle and siege tactics naturally differed from those commonly known to us and so will bear explanation also.

In the days of Rome, as in our day, the infantry was the "Queen of Battles." It was the foot soldier who played the important part in winning a battle and a war. The basic unit of the Roman infantry was the legion. Generally, this legion numbered about 4,500 men. It was the common practice to divide this number into three large groups of men each armed differently and each group having a separate function. The major portion of this division, usually about 3,000 men, were in the "heavy infantry" class. A smaller number of the legion, usually about 1,200 men, were assigned to the lighter-armed infantry and called "velites." The remainder of the legion was composed of some 300 mounted men.

For battle, there usually was a further division of the heavy infantry: 1,200 men were armed as "hastati," another 1,200 served

as "principes" and the remaining 600 were given the duties of "triarii." The armament of all three groups was quite similar. All of the men were equipped with a large shield, a metal helmet, a leather or metal cuirass, and a short thrusting and cutting sword. In addition to these weapons, the "hastati" and the "principes" each carried two short, heavy throwing spears called "pila," while the "triarii" had ordinary long spears.

When the legion engaged an enemy, these divisions of the heavy infantry arrayed themselves in three lines: first, the "hastati," then the "principes" and finally, the "triarii." The first two lines were divided into smaller groups of about 120 men each (maniples). These groups were arranged in checker-board fashion so that the first row of groups could retreat into the intervals in the second row while those groups in the second row could advance to renew the attack. The actual fighting tactics seem to have been that the front line discharged a volley of "pilla" and then rushed in to hand-to-hand combat with the short sword. If this attack failed, then the second row would follow the same process. The third line of "triarii," armed with a spear instead of a "pilum," formed the defensive reserve in case the enemy should break through the attacking lines. The "velites," armed with spears, came to be used as skirmishers, battling small groups of the enemy on patrol or making feints at the flanks. The cavalry of those days seems to have been of little use. This is probably because no stirrups were used to brace them while fighting, and because there was a lack of training. The mounted men didn't know how to fully use their weapons from horseback, and the commanders didn't know the full strategic use

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of the cavalry until later times.

Let us consider now in more detail the armor and armament of the typical soldier. Since both the Greeks and the Romans used weapons and armor that ~~were~~ quite similar, it may be wise to examine and compare the two for a better picture. In general it might be stated that the weapons of both countries in these times were made mostly of bronze. Iron was known and used at this time, but its use was somewhat limited due to the lack of knowledge of producing it on a large scale and manufacturing articles from it.

Among both the Greeks and the Romans the chief offensive weapon was the spear. The Greek spear was quite long—probably more than ten or twelve feet. In most cases, the characteristic Roman soldier carried the "pilum," a spear about five or six feet in length. This "pilum" was sometimes used as an offensive weapon in close quarters or as a defensive weapon in parrying the blows of the enemy, but more commonly it was thrown with the other larger spear, "hastarius," which the Roman spearman carried. A common tactic of the Roman soldier was to stick his spear into the enemy's shield, use the spear to pull the shield away and then move in with his sword for hand-to-hand combat.

Both the Roman and Greek swords were quite short. The Roman sword seems to be about two feet long with a blade several inches wide. It was two-edged and pointed so that it could be used for either cutting or thrusting. The later use, however, seems to be the most ordinary one. Since both Roman and Greek soldiers carried

1. For a more detailed account of this subject of the Roman Legions and their arms, cf. The Encyclopedia Britannica, vol. 19, p. 394ff.

a shield on the left arm, it was more convenient to hang the sword on the right side instead of the left to eliminate interference with the shield.

In the early ages of Greece, the shield was large enough to cover the entire body. It was only in later years that the smaller shield was adopted by their army. The Roman army regularly carried two types of shields. The "scutum," carried by the legionaries was large, rectangular, and somewhat curved. The light-armed troops and the cavalry carried the "parma"—a small, round shield. These shields were usually made of wood and covered with leather or with iron or bronze plates.

Helmets were characteristic among the soldiers of both countries. The Roman helmet was usually of bronze and fitted the head quite closely. Attached to this helmet were a hollow neck-guard that guarded both the back of the head and the neck, and hinged cheek-pieces that protected the sides of the face. There was usually a hinged bar attached which dropped down to act as a visor across the face. Greek helmets followed much the same pattern except that they were usually distinguished by a large horse-hair crest which tapered down to the back of the neck.

The cuirasses of the Greek and Roman men were usually made of bronze. The most common form for these evidently was that a breast-plate and a back-plate of bronze were joined together to protect those parts of the body. There was added a border of hanging leather straps from the bottom of the cuirass to protect the lower part of the body. Some authorities think that the bronze cuirasses in the Roman army and in the Greek army were worn only by the

officers. The common soldier then wore only a leather or a linen cuirass on which plates of metal and metal shoulder pieces were sewed. But, according to the usage in later years, it seems more likely that the bronze equipment was more common for the regular soldier.

To complete the armor, there were leg pieces of bronze worn by both Greek and Roman soldiers. The Greek greaves were made of two pieces and were fastened together by clasps. Roman greaves appear more commonly in one piece reaching from the knee to the ankle.² It was a common practice among the Romans to wear only the greave for the right leg--the leg advanced when fighting with the sword.³

The Roman army excelled in its building of fortified cities. The excellency of the strongholds show how well they knew how to fortify a location from attacking forces.⁴ But they were even more excellent in their methods for overthrowing fortifications. One is amazed at the remarkable siegecraft the Roman army used in the destruction of well-built strongholds. Engines and devices of considerable variety and great mechanical ingenuity were employed in siege warfare. To attack a walled city, movable towers of wood, taller than the walls of the city, were built and rolled close to the walls by soldiers working under the protection of a group of interlocked shields. These towers were large enough to support platforms at various levels on which were placed artillery batteries of mechanical

2. For more details on the armor of the Greeks and Romans, cf. Encyclopedia Americana, vol. 1, p. 282ff.

3. A Companion To Latin Studies, J. E. Sandys Ed., also gives much information of arms and armor of the Romans. On the subject of Greek arms and tactics, cf. A Companion to Greek Studies, L. Whibley, Ed.

4. For a detailed account of a well-fortified city, cf. Gibbon, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. 4, p. 111f.

slings or still more powerful catapults. From these towers, troops were able to swarm across to the wall to engage the enemy. While troops were fighting on top of the wall, sappers, working under a shelter of interlocked shields, dug underneath the wall. They would undermine a section and shore it up with timbers. The timbers were then soaked in pitch and set afire. When they burnt through, that undermined section of the wall would collapse leaving a breach through which the enemy city could be stormed.⁵

The Roman army was truly a masterpiece of military genius for those times. The equipment which the ordinary legionary carried was the best that there was from the standpoint of utility and effectiveness. The training the common soldier received was unexcelled for instilling a strong spirit of aggressiveness and Roman power in him. Discipline was rigid and served to weld the army into a well-trained mass of fighting experts. The occupation of being a soldier was highly regarded and the rewards and honors given to a conquering army were great as the elaborate triumphal processions through Rome indicate. For efficiency and effectiveness in attacking and subduing; for ability and competency in occupying and administering enemy territory, the famed Roman legion has never been equaled by any other military organization. The same legionaries who fought and conquered the enemy in the open fields could besiege and reduce a stronghold by siegecraft. And after the enemy had surrendered, the Roman legions were fully able to handle the remaining details of establishing a new government in their name—disarmament,

5. For an illustrated account of a Roman siege, see "The Roman Way," by Edith Hamilton in The National Geographic Magazine, November 1946, p. 584.

policing, and general administrative supervision were accomplished with skill. This is the army that Paul saw in action and this is the army from which he drew many of his examples and illustrations.

IV. The Metaphors and Descriptions of Arms and Armor.

Paul, in his Epistles, uses the picture of warfare very often. He described the life of the Christian as a battle going on in the Christian himself—the sinful flesh of the natural man is constantly waging war against the new man in every Christian. In the world at large, Paul sees the tremendous forces of the Devil arrayed in all their might against the forces of God and His Gospel. The evil angels, evil men, and evil principles strive against the Kingdom of God and God's way of salvation. Their attacks may be subtle and hidden or they may be unleashed in a mighty display of power against men of God and against God Himself. In all of these onslaughts, Christians are fighting back. The Word of God is by their side to give them power and lead them. The Spirit of God fights with them and equips them. At any hour all over the world these forces are licked in combat. With these conflicts in mind, Paul tells Christians the nature of the evil armies and teaches those who believe in Christ the weapons they are to use, the duties they are to perform, and the results they are to achieve. This striking quotation from Matthew Henry will aid in summing up the thoughts of the writer and will give us a preview into this concept of our religion pictured as a life and death battle:

"Is not our life a warfare? It is so; for we struggle with the common calamities of human life. Is not our religion much more a warfare? It is so, for we struggle with the opposition of the powers of darkness, and with many enemies who would keep us from God and heaven.

We have enemies to fight against, a captain to fight for, a banner to fight under, and certain rules of war by which we are to govern ourselves." 1

It may also be best to state that the writer examined those terms and metaphors which he considers to have a definite military meaning, or, which he feels to have derived a military coloring because of the setting in which they are used. Those terms which do not satisfy the writer as being definitely military in themselves or in their use in the passage have been omitted from consideration. Because there is doubt as to whether Paul actually wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews, the writer has not included passages from this letter in the thesis.

This study of Paul's use of military terms will be divided into two general sections. These are: (Section IV) Metaphors and Descriptions of Arms and Armor, and (Section V) Metaphors and Descriptions of Activities and Functions of the Christian soldiers and the Opposing Forces. The study will include an examination of the classical background of the word wherever this is pertinent, a translation of the passage in which the word or phrase is used, and an explanation of the metaphor with an interpretation of the meaning of the passage. All of the words in this first section have examples stated of their military usage in ancient Greek writings or/and in writings of the period in which Paul wrote.

1. Matthew Henry, Matthew Henry's Commentary, vol. 6, p. 718.

A. "whole armor, panoply"

πανοπλία

Occurs in: 1. Ephesians 6:11

2. Ephesians 6:13

Classical background:

The Ionic usage of πανοπλία refers without exception to the suit of armor worn by a δελιτής. This armor includes the shield, helmet, breastplate, greaves, sword, and lance. Authors who use the word in this sense are Thucydides (vi B.C.) and Isocrates (v/iv B.C.). Aristophanes (v/iv B.C.) in his Aves mentions this also: πανοπλίαν ἔστηκ' ἔχουσα. A soldier with full armor on was called a πανοπλός. When στρατός was used in connection with this term, it meant an army with all harness on. This reference is found in Septem Contra Thebas, by Aeschylus (vi/v B.C.).²

1. Ephesians 6:11: "Put on the whole armor of God for you to be able to stand against the expert methods of the Devil."³

In the conflict against the Devil, the world and the flesh, the Christian is provided with a panoply or complete suit of armor. Like the men of war who entered the battlefield in ancient times clad in mail, with weapons both offensive and defensive, the Christian too is supplied with various equipment which will enable him to "fight the good fight of faith," and emerge "more than conqueror." The imagery in this passage is of a soldier of the Roman army. We have a picture of the heavy-armed legionary with full equipment

2. Liddel and Scott, Greek-English Lexicon, S. Jones and McKenzie, Ed., vol. 2, p. 1298.

3. Lenski, Commentary, p. 657 (Ephesians). All translations used in connection with the passages being exegized, unless otherwise mentioned, are taken from Lenski's Commentaries in the volume containing the particular Epistle mentioned, at the specific passage mentioned.

here and not the light-armed fighter of the auxiliary contingents. This soldier that Paul portrays is a soldier of the line who does the heavy fighting. "Put on the whole armor of God," means that the Christian should make use of all the weapons and defensive armor that God has provided. He is to fight against Satanic forces and needs the defensive armor to repel all the temptations and devices the Devil uses.

This armor is called "the armor of God" because it is God who has prepared it and God who furnished it. There is no armor of our own that can resist the attacks of the spiritual enemy. "Of God" is the "genitive auctoris." It is God who supplies the soldiers of His army with power and with protection.

It should be noted that while the armor is prepared for us by God, it is necessary that we put it on, that we use it. Of course, we get the power to do that from God also. We must pray for grace, for power and use that grace and power given us. The grace, the power and the armor are of no benefit to us if we disregard them and refuse to use them in the battle. Vincent tells how the Roman soldiers did this very thing and brought defeat down on their country. Because there was a relaxation of discipline and a lack of exercise and drill, the legionaries were unwilling and unable to support the heavy defensive equipment they used previously. They complained of the weight of their armor and eventually received permission to discard parts of it—the heavy cuirasses, the cumbersome helmets and even the shields were left behind in camp.⁴

⁴. Marvin R. Vincent, Word Studies in the New Testament, vol. 3, p. 407.

As a result, they were an easy mark for the enemy's weapons. The Christian must beware of the same laxity in himself. He must use the things with which God has provided him to successfully war against the enemies of his soul and the foes of God's plan of salvation.

2. Ephesians 6:13: "Because of this take up the whole armor of God in order that you may be able to withstand in the wicked day..."

"Because of this"—that is, because of the expert methods of waging war and the powerful forces of evil the Devil uses against us, as mentioned in the previous verses, we must take up the panoply of God. Some consider "the wicked day" mentioned to be the Last Day, that is, the end of the world. Others consider that day to be the day of death, but it seems that both of these views lack meaning here. It seems most likely that Paul is talking about that critical and decisive day when Satan seems to single us out for an especially heavy attack of temptations and doubts. This "wicked day" may come but once for some and may recur often for others, but it cannot be doubted that every Christian experiences those times when he feels an unusually severe assault on his faith or life. That day when Satan pounces on us with his force seems to be indicated in this passage. Against these assaults the Christian must use the panoply of God for protection and victory. His only strength lies in the weapons that God has provided and his only safeguard is found in the armor of God's power and gifts.

B. "armor, equipment, weapons"

τὸ ὅπλον, τὰ ὅπλα

Occurs in: 1. Romans 13:12

2. II Corinthians 6:7

3. II Corinthians 10:4

Classical background:

The word often refers to ship's tackle, to tools, and in the plural, to implements of war, arms and armor. Homer in the Iliad mentions the ὄπλα of Achilles. Pindarus (v B.C.) in Nemean Odes, and Euripides (v B.C.) in Hecuba use this word with the military meaning. In the singular it is rare with the meaning of "weapon." However, there are instances when it is so used, e.g., Herodotus, Euripides in Hercules Furens, and Diodorus Siculus (1 B.C.) use it to mean a "piece of armor." Another meaning in classical Greek is, "large shield," from which the men-at-arms took their name of ὀπλίται. The Inscriptiones Graecae and Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes bear this out. In the plural it can also mean "heavy arms"—Herodotus, Thucydides (v B.C.) used it in this sense on occasion. The word also has the meaning of "men-at-arms" in the plural. ὄπλα as equal to ὀπλίται is frequently found in prose. Examples: Sophocles in his Antigone. Lysias (v B.C.) used τὰ ὄπλα in the sense of "the place of arms, camp." It should be noted too that when compounds are formed with ὄπλα, they almost always have a military meaning, e.g., ὀπλο-διδάκτης, "a teacher of the use of arms," "ὀπλα-λογέω", "collect arms," etc.⁵

1. Romans 13:12: "Let us put away, therefore, from ourselves the

⁵. The body of the word study was taken from Liddel and Scott, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 1240.

works of the darkness, and let us draw on the weapons of the light."

In this passage the word is best taken to signify the full equipment of the legionary. Here on earth the Christian is to fight the battle of his faith. The weapons he will have are the "weapons of light"—symbolic of God and good, against the "works of the darkness—symbolic of the Devil and evil. The weapons are of God; the works are of Satan. With these weapons of light, the Christian can be sure of subduing and putting away all principalities and powers which are set against him. Meyer in his commentary believes that this passage indicates a "condition of spiritual want of knowledge and of the dominion of sin" which are regarded as "night clothes" which the sleeper has had on, and now rises to the light⁶ to take off these former clothes and put on new ones of light.

These arms that are put on are holy, differing from the "night clothes" which were sinful. However, this seems to be reading entirely too much into the text and stretches the figure. As Lenski puts it, "There is no reference to nightshirts or pajamas in ἀποδυμένα."⁷

2. II Corinthians 6:7: "...with the weapons of righteousness for the right hand and for the left..."⁸

Lenski does not hold to the translation of "weapons," but translates, "aids of righteousness." His comment is that ὅπλα⁹ does not have a military meaning unless used in a military setting. However, when we consider the context and see that Paul is listing

6. H. A. W. Meyer, Meyer's Commentary on the New Testament, p. 498, (Romans).

7. Lenski, op. cit., p. 804, (Romans).

8. Translation of The New Testament, Revised Standard Version.

9. Lenski, op. cit., p. 1670, (II Corinthians).

a large number of troubles and adversities, some spiritual and some physical, it is not hard to take the translation of "weapons" here because these "weapons of righteousness" are the only means we have for combating these ills. It is the righteousness of faith which makes us strong and victorious in the way of assault or defense against all opposing powers. The right and left hand arms could well be part of the panoply that God has given us to stand victorious against these assaulting powers. The weapons of the right hand may be the weapons of attack and the weapons of the left hand may be the weapons of defense.¹⁰ Both are needed by the warrior in combating these evils sent by Satan to buffet us.

3. II Corinthians 10:4 : "... for the equipment of our campaign (is) not fleshly (weak, bodily, sinful) but powerful for God..."

The idea conveyed by this passage is different from that given in the other passages mentioned. The equipment or the weapons here mentioned are not the ordinary arms of the soldier. Instead they are the equipment of the siege army using mighty rams and "ballistae"¹¹ for the "wrecking of fortifications." These are still weapons furnished the soldier by God, but they are the greatest of the divine artillery, capable of destroying the mighty walls of pride and knowledge that sinful man advances against God. These weapons of God are the means of destroying the hostile powers which belong to the sinfully inclined human nature and alone are able to conquer human perversity and wickedness.

10. Meyer, op. cit., p. 549, (II Corinthians).

11. Lenski, op. cit., p. 1205, (II Corinthians).

C. "loins girt about, girdle"

περίσω ννύω τὴν ὀσφύν

Occurs in: 1. Ephesians 6:14.

Classical background:

περίσωμα, a girdle worn about the loins; worn by athletes, priests, smiths, cooks, etc., but especially named as belonging to the soldier's attire. The phrase ἐν περισώμασιν is opposed to ἐν θώραξι. The word περισώνυμι is used in the sense of, "to gird on a person." In connection with τὸ ξίφος, it means, "to gird on a sword," as found in Josephus (1 A.D.) in Antiquitates Judaicae. περισώσθαι τὴν φορβείαν, "to have their halter girded around them,"¹² is found in Politica by Aristotle (iv B.C.)

1. Ephesians 6:14 : "...having girded your loins in truth..."

In this passage the Greek uses the singular for our idiom, "loins." In ancient times, the loins, encircled by the girdle formed the central point of the physical system. Scripture uses the loins as a figure for the seat of power in the human body. Therefore, "to smite through the loins" is to strike a fatal blow. "To lay affliction upon the loins" is to afflict heavily. The loins, with the girdle or belt about them were the connection for the main pieces of the body armor, so the girdle was the thing which bound the individual pieces into a whole.¹³ When the soldier prepared for battle, he first put on his belt. To this belt, or girdle, he fastened the lower part of his cuirass and also attached the scabbard for his sword to it. For the Christian soldier, truth or sincerity

12. Liddel and Scott, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 1374.

13. Vincent, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 408.

forms the girdle. It was prophesied of Christ in Isaiah 11:5 that "righteousness should be the girdle of his loins and faithfulness the girdle of His reins." So, with the follower of Christ the same should prevail. God desires truth, that is sincerity, in the Christian. This truth is the strength of our loins, it holds other pieces of armor in place and is put on first. Without the girdle of truth there can be no firm armor against sin. Religion without truth or sincerity is no religion, there is no firm basis for that religion. Some take this truth to mean the Gospel. We should cleave to the Gospel as our basis, as our girdle, and all our other armor must be attached to it. Whether we take this "truth" in the objective sense as referring to the Gospel, or whether we take it in the subjective sense as meaning "sincerity," both of them are based on the power and work of God in their essence and both will give good meaning to the text. This writer is inclined to hold that the Gospel is meant in this instance, however.

D. "breastplate, thorax"

ὁ θώραξ

Occurs in: 1. Ephesians 6:14
2. I Thessalonians 5:8

Classical background:

θώραξ γυάλοισιν ἀρηρῶς is described by Homer in the Iliad as being a front and back piece of armor fastened together with περόναι. Pausanias (ii A.D.) also used this term with the same meaning. It is of some significance that the verb, "to arm" is derived from this noun θωρήσω.

This should indicate the importance of the breastplate in the armor of the soldier. This term is frequently used in Homer's Iliad 14; for, "put one's harness on."

1. Ephesians 6:14 : "...and having put on the breastplate of righteousness..."

Only the head is comparable to the chest in vulnerability. The helmet covers the head to protect it and the breastplate covers the vital organs, especially the heart. This breastplate of the Christian soldier is the righteousness of God. This is the righteousness of Christ which is put on by faith. The "justitia imputata" of God protects our heart and our soul against any and all attacks by Satan, whether those attacks be in the form of doubt¹⁴ or actual deeds of sin which we commit through his temptations, the breastplate of Christ's righteousness covers us and protects us. There is no righteousness of our own, no "justitia acquisita" which could withstand the weapons Satan uses against us. Since any righteousness of ours is imperfect, it can easily be pierced. But the righteousness of God is perfect and guards us against harm in the battle. It might be a consideration here to think of the breastplate as more than just a defensive weapon. In the days of the Greeks and Romans, the breastplate was usually highly polished so that reflections of the sun's rays would blind an opponent or, at least, would dazzle the eye and strike terror in the opponent's heart.¹⁵ So also with

14. Liddel and Scott, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 814.

15. L. Buchheimer, Christian Warfare, p. 20.

our chief opponent, Satan. The weapon he fears most is just that armor of Christ's righteousness. He knows that there is no destroying when that is used against him; there is no weakness in the perfect righteousness of Christ through which he can kill or capture souls. That is the breastplate the soldier of Christ must use if he is to emerge from life as the victor.

2. I Thessalonians 5:8 : "But let us, because we belong to daytime, continue to be sober, as having put on the breastplate of faith and love..."

In this passage there is not the entire panoply of the Christian soldier which is listed in Ephesians 6:13ff. The reason may be, as Lenski thinks, that the picture here is not one of a life and death battle against Satan.¹⁶ In this verse there is just a comparison between men who are living a life of drunkenness in the darkness of sin and the Christian who lives in light and stands in God's armor, awake and vigilant against these evil forces. However, the idea that the Christian is standing guard and that he has the armor of faith and love to protect him from sin does not necessarily mean that he could not be equipped with the full armor with which he can attack the evils in the world. The foremost idea, though, is that faith in Christ and an active love both toward God and his fellow man is the coat of mail which will distinguish and protect every Christian in this life.

16. Lenski, op. cit., p. 346, (I Thessalonians).

E. "feet shod, sandals"

ὑποδέω τοὺς πόδας

Occurs in: 1. Ephesians 6:15

Classical background:

ὑποδέω, "to bind or fasten under,"

especially to "underbind the feet, i.e., "put on shoes or sandals,"

because ancient shoes were bound on with straps. Thucydides (v B.C.)

uses it in much the same way as is mentioned in our text: ὑποδεδέ-

μενοι τὸν ἀριστερὸν πόδα --"with the left foot

shod." The noun derived from the verb is τὸ ὑπόδημα, and

means, "a sole bound under the foot with straps."

1. Ephesians 6:15 : "...and having shod yourselves as to the feet
in readiness of the Gospel of peace..."

The ancient soldier wore sandals usually made of thick leather, spiked with nails in the sole, and to these, leaves of brass were often attached for protection on the leg. The purpose of this equipment was to protect the legionary from the gall-traps and sharp sticks the enemy might have placed to hinder his advance, and the nails in the sandals prevented him from slipping in the mire. The general utility of this protection was to enable the soldier to go on to victory despite obstacles and counter measures used by the enemy.¹⁸ Some hold that this description of the putting on of sandals does not mean that the soldier is getting ready to do battle with the enemy or to advance on the forces of sin. They believe that the idea is merely that the sandals give a better footing so

17. Liddel and Scott, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 703.

18. Buchheimer, op. cit., p. 26.

that the Christian soldier can stand firm when he is on guard or when he is attacked. While this is entirely correct that the soldier of Christ uses the Gospel with which he is shod mainly for a foundation and a footing for his own victory of faith, yet it cannot be said that this Gospel is not used as a means to combat sin and Satan. It is a Gospel which brings peace to the heart of the believer, but it is also a Gospel which brings destruction to the forces of evil in this, that they can never conquer over it. Luther said speaking of the war against the Devil: "One little word can fell him," and that word is the Gospel. The good news of Christ's atonement is the basis for all our faith and for all our attacks against sin. While we combat sin with the Gospel, that same Gospel is protecting our own footing so that we remain firm and conquer.

F. "preparation"

ἡ ἐτοίμασις

Occurs in: 1. Ephesians 6:15

Classical background:

Tacticus (iv B.C.) speaks of "preparation of accoutrements." In fact, the meaning of "equipment" is given for classical usage. An example of the verb from this root, ἐτοίμασεν, used in the preparation of a military force is found in Acts 23:23.

1. Ephesians 6:15: "And having shod yourselves... in readiness"

(in preparedness) of the gospel of the peace..."

This "preparedness is that which makes us ready to plunge into the fight. The genitive of source used here defines it as being a "readiness inspired by the Gospel." The Gospel which we put on as protective footwear teaches us first of the objective peace which God gives us through Christ and then fills us with the subjective feeling of peace. Through the working of this Gospel we are ready and eager to battle for victory—we are above defeat because it is God's equipment given to us. There is somewhat of a paradox here since this Gospel of peace makes us ready to do battle with Satan. ²⁰ Another view of this passage is that the Gospel of peace signifies a prepared frame of heart and mind to adhere and remain in this Gospel so that we proceed in our faith safe from the obstacles and dangers of life. Perhaps there is a meaning to this phrase which would indicate that which prepares our hearts for the reception of ²¹ the Gospel, that is, repentance which is worked by God. There is truth in this if we take it to mean that by a life of repentance which is worked by the Gospel, we are protected against temptations. The main thought, however, seems to be this, that the Christian soldier is to have that preparedness or readiness which will enable him to use this Gospel to combat sin and spread the message of peace, or to safeguard himself in his own faith and be prepared to meet his own obstacles and afflictions. The Christian must stand prepared with this preparation for service to himself and others.

20. Lenski, op. cit., p. 667, (Ephesians).

21. Matthew Henry, op. cit., vol. 6, p. 720.

G. "shield"

ὁ θυρέος

Occurs in: 1. Ephesians 6:16

Classical background:

The θυρέος was an oblong shield, shaped like a door according to accounts of the Papyri Graecae Latine (iii B.C.) and other references in antiquity. This description is in accord with the description of the Roman "scutum." The connection with θύρα, "door" is obvious, and we may imagine the shape of the shield from that picture.

1. Ephesians 6:16 : "...in addition to everything having taken up the long-shield of the faith..."

The shield was the primary defensive weapon of the ancient soldier. With it he could parry blows from weapons, protect himself from arrows and spears, move it from this side to the other to keep his entire body from hurt. So the shield of faith is an all-important part of the Christian's panoply. The faith that is meant here seems to be objective faith. If we consider that when Jesus was subjected to the temptations of the Devil He answered and repelled these attacks not with an "I believe," but with, ²³ "It is written." So the Christian must hold up to Satan not merely his believing, or his subjective faith, but the Word, the doctrine, the objective content of faith. Of course, there must also be a whole-hearted trust and reliance on this objective faith, but the

22. Liddel and Scott, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 811.

23. Lenski, op. cit., p. 670, (Ephesians).

emphasis is on what you believe rather than on the fact that you believe here. If we believe ever so firmly in something other than this Gospel, or objective faith, we cannot stop the darts of Satan. So, the faith mentioned is objective faith, but in the participle we have the subjective factor. If we do not use this shield, if we do not believe that it will do what it did for Jesus, then it is of no benefit to us. However, using this faith we can stop the temptations of Satan before they do us great harm. The frightful arrows of doubt, the deep-piercing spears of sensuality, the harmful daggers of earthly troubles, and the well-aimed darts of despair are all stopped and made ineffectual by this shield of faith. The firm trust in Christ as our Savior from sin; the steady dependence on God for the things of this life and the next, for body and soul; the unyielding reliance on God's love and mercy—these will be our protection when we are under fire from Satan's and the world's weapons.

H. "helmet"

ἡ περικεφαλαία

- Occurs in: 1. Ephesians 6:17
 2. I Thessalonians 5:8

Classical background:

Callias (v/iv B.C.) and Aeneas Tacticus (iv B.C.) use this word in this sense—"round the head," hence, a covering for the head, a helmet. There is a passage from the Inscriptiones Graecae which mentions a περικεφαλαία σιδρᾶ²⁴.

24. Liddel and Scott, op. cit., p. 1376, vol. 2.

1. Ephesians 6:17 : "...and the helmet of salvation do you take..."

As the helmet covers and protects the head of the legionary, so the Christian has a comparable spiritual protection. This piece of the spiritual panoply is the "helmet of salvation." The genitive of apposition is thought by some to be used here making "the helmet" equal to "the salvation." The Christian helmet then would be that which saves and keeps safe, namely, the power of God working in us, giving us the strength and the ability to remain unharmed in our warfare. There are others who supply "hope of salvation," making this passage equal to I Thessalonians 5:8.²⁵ It would mean then that this hope of a future salvation will strengthen and keep us steadfast, free from harm in this life. Although both explanations are Scriptural in their meaning, the writer of this paper is inclined to accept the last mentioned explanation as most pertinent to this passage. It is better to interpret a passage by supplying parts of a Scriptural cross-reference than merely to infer or deduce a meaning. We will discuss the explanation of the sense of this passage more fully in the next reference.

2. I Thessalonians 5:8 : "Let us,...continue to be sober as having put on the breastplate of faith and love and as helmet, hope of salvation."

Paul in this passage stresses that future hope of salvation which the Christian soldier uses to protect and sustain his life and soul. This "hope" is not just a vague idea, but is a firmly

25. Matthew Henry, op. cit., vol. 6, p. 720.

grounded looking forward for something we know is ours. The realization that our salvation is secure through the atoning work of Christ bears us up through temptations. This is the "hope which shall not perish;" this is the "lively hope" of which the Apostle speaks. Hope in its very nature is an active principle. It is the mainspring of human conduct. The hope which the Christian uses as a helmet is the thing that inspires him to lay aside those vain thoughts and philosophies which militate against it. It drives him to subdue those sins of the world in his flesh which beset him and often endanger that hope. This hope of salvation is the helmet that guards the head, the citadel of intelligence and vital energy. Without hope, life loses its meaning, but with the hope of salvation, we have a goal for which we strive and a principle by which we live.

I. "sword"

μάχαλα

- Occurs in : 1. Romans 13:4
2. Ephesians 6:17

Classical background:

μάχαλα, used in the Tebtunis Papyri (ii B.C.), with the meaning of, "a large knife," or, "a dirk." The military meaning of a weapon, i.e., a short sword or dagger is used by Pindarus (v B.C.). In the Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum (i A.D.) it is used in this sense: ἐπὶ μάχαλα τασσόμενοι, i.e., "possessing power of life and death" (jus gladii). The metaphorical use is shown by Zenobius (ii A.D.) : διδά

μάχαρῶν καὶ πυρός. That use was previously shown in the Anthologia Graeca of Posidippus (iii B.C.). In the Septuagint translation of Isaiah 49:2, the phrase μάχαρᾶ τοῦ πνεύματος is used to translate the Hebrew יָד וַחֲמֶל.²⁶

1. Romans 13:4 : "For not in vain does it (the government) bear the sword..."

Many think that this passage merely refers to the government's right to use capital punishment. However, the right of the government to wage war is not left out of this passage but is included in its meaning.

"The government is vested by God with authority to draw the sword not only against evil-doers among its subjects, but also against foreign governments or nations who give the government cause to use the sword against them. It is arbitrary to limit the government's right of the sword to evil-doers at home, and to deny this right concerning evil-doers abroad. There is no such limitation in the text."²⁷

2. Ephesians 6:17 : "And the helmet of the salvation do you take and the sword of the Spirit, which means God's utterance..."

It is to be noted that in the entire panoply of the Christian soldier—the girdle for the loins, the breastplate for the chest, the sandals for the feet, the helmet for the head, and the shield for the entire body—all are essentially meant for protection and defence. Here, however, there is provided a powerful weapon for attack. The "sword of the Spirit" is the one offensive weapon in

26. Liddel and Scott, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 1085.

27. Quote from "The Christian's Attitude towards his Government and on War," Concordia Theological Monthly, vol. 12, p.324. Article is written by Louis J. Roehm.

the armament of the Christian. This sword is the comparatively short sword used by the Roman legionary. Pointed, sharp on both sides, the weapon was used effectively for cutting or thrusting. This is not the ῥομφαία which was large, sharpened only on one side and curved for a cutting stroke only, nor is it the ἐπίσπος²⁸ which was a straight sword with no edge, used only for thrusting. This is the standard weapon of the Roman army.

"Sword of the Spirit"—the genitive here is the genitive of source. This phrase is further defined by the clause which follows: "which means God's utterance." So, the "sword of the Spirit" is God's Word, the expression of God's Will. It is the Spirit of God, the Holy Ghost, who communicated this divine weapon of God to men and who still gives it to men in the form of our Holy Scriptures. The Holy Spirit not only furnishes this weapon of the Word to the Christian, but also gives the Christian soldier power to use it. The efficiency of the Word as a weapon depends on the Spirit working in the soldier. There are two ways in which this "sword of the Spirit" can be used as an offensive weapon. The first use is that of conquering the kingdom of darkness in other people so that they may be won for the Kingdom of God. The Word of God works conviction of sin by cutting away pride and false confidence in self and material things. It cuts away sham and shows the need for a Savior—this is the converting power of the Word. This must naturally be followed with that Word which teaches of Christ and

28. J. H. Thayer, Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament, p. 393.

salvation so that new recruits are won to the armies of God. The second use of the "sword of the Spirit" as an offensive weapon is that of conquering the enemies which constantly besiege every Christian. This is the sanctifying power of the Word. Scripture is the most powerful weapon with which to repel temptation. The instructions in the Word teach us how we are to conquer the evils remaining in us and give us power to kill, more and more, the sin of our flesh. Christ Himself resisted Satan's temptations with, "It is written..."²⁹ (Matthew 4:46), and He prays for us, "Sanctify them through Thy truth, Thy Word is truth" (John 17:17). This Word, hidden in a believing heart will be a power to defend us from sin and will kill those lusts and evils that are in our heart. Since no scabbard is mentioned, the indication seems to be that the "sword of the Spirit" should be unsheathed and ready at all times. The Christian must always be prepared to fight battles with the sword which God has provided him.

J. "dart, arrow"

τὸ βέλος

Occurs in: 1. Ephesians 6:16

Classical background:

After Homer, this word is used for "anything swift-darting." For example, Pindarus in the Nemean Odes mentions the Διὸς βέλη, "the bolts of Zeus." In a more specific sense, Philo in Belopoeica uses this word in connection with

29. Matthew Henry, op. cit., vol. 6, p. 721, advances this thought.

an "engine of war," and in the plural form he gives it the meaning of "artillery." For a description of "fiery darts," we consult Plutarch, who, in his Sulla states that they were darts wrapped with pitch and tow and thrown while on fire from an engine.³⁰

1. Ephesians 6:11 : "... you will be able to extinguish all the arrows of the wicked one, those that have been set on fire."

Temptations of Satan are here pictured as being "darts" because of their swift and undiscernable flight and the deep wounds that they inflict on the soul. Some consider the "fiery darts" to be a figurative description of arrows which were poisoned so that the wound they made would be inflamed and infected.³¹ However, there is little indication that this is what is meant here. It seems best to take the phrase literally for there is definite evidence that fire and inflammable material were used on arrows. This is a very thorough picture of Satan's temptations. The temptations are represented as coming from a distance, for archers were usually always in the rear ranks. At times the temptations of Satan come from most unexpected and unforeseen directions, from things that appear to be far away from evil. But the Devil works in sly and clever ways and is most subtle in making his attacks and ambushes. Some think that this phrase refers only to the individual arrows of the archers.³² But there is evidence that it

30. Liddel and Scott, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 313.

31. Matthew Henry, op. cit., vol. 6, p. 720, gives this interpretation.

32. Lenski, op. cit., p. 670, (Ephesians), believes this refers to individual arrows of temptation.

can also refer to the batteries of arrows or "falaricae", that is, spears, which were hurled either singly or in great numbers from special catapults. This was a dreaded weapon because of its great destructive power. It seems best to the writer to take this latter interpretation. Although Satan does send temptations to us which appear to be isolated and alone, yet, isn't it true that these temptations always lead to other temptations so that we are besieged by a volley of them? The Devil uses all the means he can to tempt us to sin and evil. He would eagerly use the Roman siege tactics of overwhelming us with temptations.

When a temptation lands on inflammable material, it starts a conflagration. The flame of the fire-tipped dart spreads--one sin leads to another. So, besides protecting himself from the actual wound of these temptations, the Christian soldier must also take care that there is no combustible material which tends to spread this fire of sin. Faith is the Christian soldier's protection here. Self-confidence and pride are the chief materials which tend to spread this fire of sin and faith is doing away with dependence on ourselves. It puts all dependence on God and His power and so removes the combustible material.

33

One other tactic might be mentioned which may lead to a better understanding of Satan's use of these fiery darts of temptation. Livy, talking about the fiery darts used by the Saguntines, says, "What caused the greatest fear was that this weapon, even though

33. Vincent, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 409, has this idea.

it stuck in the shield and did not penetrate into the body, when it was discharged with the middle part on fire,...obliged the armor to be thrown down and exposed the soldier to succeeding blows."³⁴

Even though we are not actually hurt by the temptation, we must take care that our faith is not weakened by it, that we throw down the shield of faith and are left exposed to further temptations which will hit a vital spot. The shield of faith and the armor of God must be used carefully and vigilantly against the tactics of Satan for our soul's welfare and final victory.

³⁴. Vincent, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 409, uses this quote in an explanation of this passage.

V. The Metaphors and Descriptions of Activities and Functions of the Christian Soldiers and the Opposing Forces.

We now turn our attention from the study of the arms and armor used in the battles fought between the forces of God and the forces of Satan to an examination of the activities and the functions of the combatants. Under this heading there will be a discussion of the terms Paul uses to describe the duties and the warfare of the Christian soldier and also the activities of the enemy forces. Here again the writer has used those terms and metaphors which he considers to have a definite military meaning or are included in a military setting. Those terms which do not satisfy the writer as being military in character or meaning have been omitted. In the case of those terms about which there is a conflicting opinion concerning the military usage, the writer has tried to state the case fairly, but strives to show his reason for believing in the military usage by explaining the context and by showing that the military meaning of the word or phrase makes for a more complete and thorough insight into the meaning of the passage. Bearing this in mind, we will proceed to the study of Paul's use of military terms and metaphores.

A. "to watch, guard, keep with a garrison"

φρουρέω

Occurs in: 1. II Corinthians 11:32

2. Galatians 3:23

3. Philippians 4:7

Classical background:

The phrase "keep watch," or, "guard over," is used quite frequently in a military sense by Herodotus. In Inscriptiones Graecae and Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae (iii B.C.), it is recorded with a definite military meaning. Herodotus also used it as a somewhat general term meaning, "keep a sharp look out." Again, it is used by him in the specific sense of, "watch," "guard," "set a watch," etc. Polybus (ii B.C.) gives it the meaning of "hold in subjection." However, the classical background indicates a heavy military meaning, especially when we take into consideration that most of the compounds formed with this word are strictly military in their use.¹ Thayer gives this translation: "to protect by a military guard, either to prevent hostile invasion, or to keep the inhabitants of a besieged city from flight (often so from Thucydides down)."²

1. II Corinthians 11:32 : "In Damascus, the Ethnarch of Aretas, the king was guarding the city of the Damascenes to arrest me."

This passage is mentioned merely to show the thought of this particular word. The city was guarded by the king's soldiers—

1. Liddel and Scott, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 1957.

2. Thayer, op. cit., p. 658.

guards were posted at each gate and thoroughfare to keep Paul from leaving the city until he could be captured in it. The Jews had enlisted the aid of the "Ethnark" by denouncing Paul as a dangerous disturber, but Paul escaped by being let over the wall in a basket with the help of some fellow-Christians.

2. Galatians 3:23 : "Moreover, before the faith came, we were being kept under guard by law,..."

Here we have the metaphoric use of the term. ὑπὸ νόμον means that we were under the control of the Mosaic Law that we might not escape from its power. The word συγκεκρισμένοι is added to show that this guarding was very thorough—the Jews were enclosed or shut up, locked up by the Mosaic Law. The Mosaic Law stood guard over those who were locked up together under sin. It acted as a sentry, keeping those under it a prisoner until the sentry was relieved of his duty by the arrival of Christ. By faith we receive the complete fulfillment of the Law which He accomplished, so the guard no longer has power over us. The idea here is not that we were being guarded from hostile attack when we were under the control of the Law, but rather that we were prisoners who could not escape because of that guard.³

3. Philippians 4:7 : "...and the peace of God which exceeds all understanding will guard your hearts and your thoughts in Christ Jesus."

The meaning here is, of course, "to protect by guarding, to

3. Lenski, op. cit., p. 177 (Galatians), uses this idea.

keep τὰς καρδίας ἐν χριστῷ," i.e., in close connection with Christ. The "peace of God" will stand like a guard over our hearts and thoughts so that nothing disturbs them. The guard is there to keep enemies from us. The greatness of this peace is shown in the phrase, "exceeding all understanding." The Christian has a strong and a sure guard. He does not depend on his mind or his will to keep off worry, doubts and fears as the unbeliever does. The mind tries bravely to stand guard, but it is a poor protector. Only the Christian with the peace of God in his heart can have that actual state and condition of peace. With this peace standing guard he can be assured of the feeling of peace in his heart and mind.

B. "to keep guard, watch"

φυλάσσω

- Occurs in:
1. Romans 2:26
 2. II Thessalonians 3:3
 3. I Timothy 6:20
 4. II Timothy 1:14
 5. II Timothy 1:12

Classical background:

In the absolute sense, the word means to "keep watch, keep guard," especially by night. Homer makes frequent use of it in this sense in both the Iliad and the Odessey. Thucydides likewise uses it in this sense. Homer, in his Iliad and Odessey also gives it the meaning of "to watch for, lie in wait for, ambush." In the Respublica Lacedaemoniorum, Xenophon also uses it in this way.

The Septuagint translates the Hebrew שָׁמַר with this word.⁴

1. Romans 2:26 : "If then, the foreskin keep the righteous ordinances of the law, shall not his foreskin be reckoned as circumcision?"

Paul is here combating the argument of the Jews that the rite of circumcision keeps or guards the law. He makes a distinction between the "Law," that is, the parts of its ceremonialism which were temporary, and the "righteous ordinances" which were laid down by God and were permanent. The argument is that circumcision does not guard the fulfilling of those things that God has commanded. It is an outward rite while God wants a righteous heart.

2. II Thessalonians 3:3 : "Yet faithful is the Lord who will stablish you and guard you from the wicked one."

Here the meaning is plainly that of guarding a person that he may remain safe. The first work of the Lord is to "stablish you," referring to an inward rooting and grounding in faith. The second work is that He "will guard you," referring to His protection of your faith from outward assaults.

3. I Timothy 6:20 : "O Timothy, guard the deposit..."

4. II Timothy 1:14 : "That noble deposit guard through the Holy Spirit..."

These two passages may be considered together because they are identical in the meaning of the word "guard." Here, with τὴν παραθήκην or παρακαθήκην, the meaning is, "to keep from being snatched away or stolen." Lenski comments

4. Liddel and Scott, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 1961.

that "the imperative reminds one of a φύλαξ, a guard posted to keep something safe. One may τηρεῖν by locking up safely and securely; but one φυλάσσειν by standing guard like a soldier." ⁵ The Lord had given, or deposited the message of salvation to Paul and to Timothy, and the command is that it must be guarded. That is, the message is to be kept pure and invested in others so that they may lay up for themselves treasures in heaven through faith in Christ Jesus. That message is deposited in us with the same command.

5. II Timothy 1:12 : "For I know Him whom I have been trusting and am persuaded that He is able to guard the deposit of mine against that day."

The same trust that God will protect this promise of salvation in the heart of Paul is included in this passage. It is through God's power, through His watchfulness that the Gospel is given to us and kept among us. The confidence that we will have that message and faith in that message until our dying day should be our comfort, because we are not trusting in ourselves or in the strength of man, but in the might of God.

C. "enemies"

ὁ ἐχθρὸς, ἐχθρὸς

Occurs in : 1. Romans 5:10

2. Romans 11:28

3. Romans 12:30

5. Lenski, op. cit., p. 735, (II Timothy), states this fact.

4. I Corinthians 15:25
5. I Corinthians 15:26
6. Galatians 4:16
7. Philippians 3:18
8. Colossians 1:21
9. II Thessalonians 3:15

Classical background:

In classical usage, the passive sense of this word is, "hated, hateful of persons and things." This usage is found frequently from Homer down. Homer uses it only in the passive sense. The active meaning of the word is, "hating, hostile." When used as a substantive, the meaning is, "enemy." In this use the active and passive senses frequently coincide. According to Ammonius (Grammaticus) (1/11 A.D.), the meaning is as follows:
ἐχθρός is one who has been φίλος, but is alienated and refuses to be reconciled.

1. Romans 5:10 : "For if, while being enemies, we were reconciled to God through the death of His Son..."

The word here is taken in the active sense. In the New Testament, "enemies" are understood to be people who are enemies to God (active) and not understood to be people to whom God is an enemy (passive).⁷ The point in reconciliation is not that God gave up His enmity against us, but rather that through Christ's death, God changed our status from that of enmity toward Him to love toward

6. Liddel and Scott, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 748.

7. Lenski, op. cit., p. 507, (Romans), holds this view.

Him. That is the point in this passage. Even though we may consider the fact that God was at enmity with us because of our sin, the thought here is that even while we hated and were against God, He loved us so that He gave us His Son.

2. Romans 11:28 : "According to the Gospel—enemies for your sake; but according to the election—beloved for the father's sake."

Paul here is speaking of the Jews of his time, instructing the Romans in the reasons and results of the prevailing Jewish hostility toward the Gospel. Concerning the message of Christ, those Jews who are unbelieving, are enemies against God and hostile toward the Gospel. Paul says they are "enemies for your sake," to remind the Gentile Christians that it was Jewish unbelief which caused the Gospel to come to the Gentiles. The Jewish curse was the Gentile blessing. However, Paul reminds the Gentiles that there are some among the Jews who are of the elect. Even though they may be "enemies" of the Gospel now, still there will be a "remnant according to an election of grace" (Romans 11:5). Those who are of the elect, those who come to faith are not enemies against God or against the Gospel, but they are lovers of God and the Gospel. They are "beloved for the father's sake" because they have been restored to the position of spiritual sons to the spiritual fathers who preceeded them in the true faith.

3. Romans 12:20 : "But if thine enemy come to hunger, be feeding him."

8. Lenski, op. cit., p. 733, (Romans), interprets the passage in this manner.

The full meaning of enemy must be taken here—we are to love and care for those who are our enemies, those who hate us and are hostile to us. Our Christian love must flow out to them.

4. I Corinthians 15:25 : "For He must reign until He shall have put all His enemies under His feet."

This is a reference to the Judgement Day. At that Day, Christ will have put down all hostile forces forever. All those who hate God and are against Him, all those who have fought against the Gospel, all those who have attempted to defeat the believers in Christ in the spiritual warfare, these will be conquered and subdued by Him.

5. I Corinthians 15:26 : "As a last enemy, the death is abolished."

In this passage, death is singled out as a separate enemy from the many enemies of Christ and Christians. Death works even in the bodies of believers, but its sting is already broken for them. The complete victory over death will come about when death is forever abolished. At the last day, death as we know it shall no longer exist. Death is in captivity now, but then it shall be executed.

6. Galatians 4:16 : "...and so have I become your enemy by telling you the truth?"

The best sense from this passage comes when we take "enemy" in the active sense again.⁹ The point here seems to be not so much whether the Galatians hate Paul for his teaching, but Paul asks them, "Because I tell you the truth, do you think I hate you?" "No, I love you, but I have to censure you because of some of your

9. Lenski, op. cit., p. 222, (Romans).

evil actions—my admonition and my correction flows from love." "I am not your enemy, but your friend because I want to help you to be different and better."

7. Philippians 3:18 : "For many are walking, of whom I told you often and now tell you even weeping, the enemies of the cross of Christ..."

The Judaizers that Paul seems to be speaking about were the "enemies of Christ" and His work. They claimed to be believers in Christ (Acts 15:5) but their legalism which they added to the Christian faith, militated against the atoning and justifying effects of the Cross. The worst enemies of Christ are not those who openly deny Him, but those who add qualifications and conditions of works to deny that the sacrifice of Christ alone has power to save the sinner.¹⁰ This is a mark of the anti-Christ.

8. Colossians 1:21 : "...and you on your part, at one time being alienated and enemies in your mind in your wicked works..."

Paul writes to the Colossians that they were enemies in that they fought against Christ and His forgiveness by their evil lives. Through their evil living they showed their hate for God and, in effect, fought against God's plan of salvation both in their own lives and in the lives of others because of the example they set.

9. II Thessalonians 3:15 : "...and do not consider him an enemy, but remonstrate with him as a brother."

The setting from which this passage was taken indicates that

10. Lenski, op. cit., p. 857, (Philippians), makes this statement.

there was a disorderly person in the congregation, one who created a disturbance in the church. Paul's advice to the people there is to treat this man as a brother and not as an enemy. They should not hate him or be hateful toward him, but instead, should be friendly to him as long as there is a possibility that this person may be brought back through shame and repentance. Instead of fighting against him and spitefully treating him, they are to rather hold up his sin and his foolishness to him in a brotherly way. If necessary, they may withdraw from him for a time so that he may feel the censure and at the same time the spirit of wanting to help.¹¹

D. "stronghold"

τὸ ὀχύρωμα

Occurs in: 1. II Corinthians 10:4

Classical background:

The word is evidently derived from the verb ὀχυρόω, which has the meaning of "to make strong, to fortify." The Septuagint translates the Hebrew 7370, meaning "a castle, stronghold, fortress," with this word. Xenophon in Historia Graeca (v/iv B.C.) uses this word to indicate a stronghold or fortress. The Septuagint translation of Genesis 39:20 uses this noun and the word ὀχυρόω is used in the translation for "shut up" or "besieged" in Joshua 6:1.¹²

1. II Corinthians 10:4 : "...for the equipment for our campaign (is) not fleshly (weak, sinful) but powerful for God, (fit) for

11. Lenski, op. cit., p. 468, (II Thessalonians) gives this idea.
12. Liddel and Scott, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 1282.

wrecking fortifications..."

This figure of speech does not necessarily refer to the walls of Greek stubbornness based on their wisdom and philosophy. Nor does it mean only the "old walls of the Jewish legalism," but generally includes everything which may be included as belonging to human strength and reason which resists the Gospel. ¹³ Ignorance, prejudice, loved lusts, vain imaginations, carnal reasonings, are all part of the fortifications which the Devil teaches and helps man to build to keep men from faith. These strongholds are pulled down by the Gospel of Christ which is full of the mighty power of God. This is the siege weapon that God uses against human fortifications. They may appear sound and strong to the human mind and eye, but the power of God, working in the Gospel, shows their weakness, the faults in the foundations, the cracks of vain pride in the walls, and they topple.

E. "make captive"

αἰχμαλωτίζω

- Occurs in:
1. Romans 7:23
 2. II Corinthians 10:5
 3. II Timothy 3:6

Classical background:

Diodorus Siculus (1 B.C.) used this word with the meaning, "to take prisoner." This word is also used to translate "carried away captive" in the Septuagint translation of II Kings 24:14. In classical writings, the word is more frequently

13. Meyer, op. cit., p. 620, (II Corinthians), has this view.

found in the Middle voice. The noun derived from this word is αἰχμαλωτοί and means "prisoners of war," according to Andocides (v/iv B.C.) and Thucydides (v B.C.). ἡ αἰχμή, the word for "spear" has the same root and so this apparent connection is sometimes used in translating the verb, "to take or capture ¹⁴ by the spear."

1. Romans 7:23 : "I see another law in my members,...engaged in making me a war captive by the law of sin that is in my members..."

The picture here is one in which Paul seems to imagine himself a king in a castle, looking out into his more distant possessions and seeing the enemy engaged in a campaign to capture the center and capital of his heart and rule the whole being. ¹⁵ Paul sees that sin is still in his being, that it still has control over a part of him. It is fighting against the panoply which God has given Paul and sometimes wins a battle so that his flesh sins. The flesh is often weak in carrying out the renewed will of a Christian and so falls prey to attacks by Satan. There is a revolution going on in every Christian where Satan tries to overcome the whole being by these attacks through the weakness of our flesh. Our sanctification is not complete, so sin still makes itself evident in sinful acts.

2. II Corinthians 10:5 : "...for the equipment of our campaign is not fleshly, but powerful for God...and capturing every device (of human thought) for the obedience to Christ."

14. Liddel and Scott, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 45.

15. Lenski, op. cit., p. 485, (Romans), uses this picture.

Here Paul is not speaking about persons being made captive for Christ. Captives, in those days, were made exiles, became slaves, or were killed. Here the reference seems to be to the νόημα. Everything which is fighting against the true knowledge of God becomes a helpless and hopeless war captive. ¹⁶ The petty human reason, weak philosophies, doubts, and vague theologies are taken captive and dragged away by the knowledge of God in a Christian. In the Christian, those arguments and human devices which were against God and against accepting Christ as the Savior are led away in shame. The Christian has one power and one motive force in him which captures his own will and his own mind. The power of God is the ruler and king in a Christian.

3. II Timothy 3:6 : "To these belong those sneaking into the houses and leading captive silly women."

False prophets and religious fakes are those who "lead captive silly women." Women who have a religious bent combined with strong evil desires for the pleasures of this world are led astray into captivity by these deceivers. The women are a type of those who are captivated by pretty phrases, an outward piety, or loose regulations which permit favorite sins, and fall into the slavery of worshipping a false God who has nothing to offer for the salvation of the soul.

F. "captivity"

αἰχμαλωσία

Occurs in: 1. Ephesians 4:8

16. Lenski, op. cit., p. 1203, (II Corinthians), points this out.

Classical background:

Diodorus Siculus (1 B.C.) used the word in this same sense. In the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, Amos 1:15 has this word, and the parallel passage to Ephesians 4:8 from Psalm 68:18 uses the identical word meaning, "captivity."¹⁷

1. Ephesians 4:8 : "...having gone up on high, He made captive captivity..."

This passage pictures Christ as the victorious general. "Captivity" itself was taken captive. An examination of Colossians 2:15 gives us an example of what this "captivity" was. It consisted in the captivity in which the principalities and powers, that is, the forces of Satan, held and tried to keep men to lead them to destruction. This captivity of the power of the Devil in mankind was broken by the sacrifice of the Son of God. The absolute power of sin in man is led away by Christ.

G. "taken captive, to catch alive"

ῥωπείω

Occurs in: 1. II Timothy 2:26

Classical background:

ῥωπείω, "to take, save alive, take captive instead of killing"—this is the sense in which Homer, Herodotus and Thucydides use the word. In classic literature the word ῥωπεῖα is a cage or place for keeping wild animals in captivity. The Septuagint translation of Deuteronomy 2:34 uses

17. Liddel and Scott, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 45.

this word, but there is a difficulty here because it is mentioned in this verse that they "utterly destroyed the men, and the women, and the little ones of every city, we left none to remain." However, the majority of evidence lies in favor of interpreting this word as "taking captive with the object of keeping alive." See the words of Christ in Luke 5:10—"thou shalt catch men," for a positive comparison.^{18.}

1. II Timothy 2:26 : "...and that they get back to soberness out of the Devil's snare, having been (and remaining) captured alive by him (God) for that one's (God's) will."

Thayer points out some of the difficulty in this passage by stating two views held. One view is this: ἔσωχρημένοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (i.e. τοῦ διαβόλου) εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου θέλημα, that is, that men are captured by the Devil and held in that captivity to do the Devil's will. The other view is this, that ἔσωχρημένοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ be regarded as a parenthetical expression and that ἐκείνου¹⁹ refers to God. The Authorized Version's translation here does not seem to agree with the Greek in the translation of both the pronoun and the preposition. It reads: "And that they may recover themselves out of the snare of the Devil, who are taken captive by him at his will." The writer prefers Lenski's²⁰ translation believing that it is closer to the Greek. The fact that the perfect tense of the participle indicates an action which

18. Liddel and Scott, op. cit., vol. 1. p. 758.

19. Thayer, op. cit., p. 273, has this view.

20. For Lenski's translation and view cf. p. 817f., op. cit., II Timothy, and for the opposite view cf. Matthew Henry, op. cit., vol. 6, p. 842. The writer uses Lenski's ideas in his explanation.

has been done and the results are still continuing, is a good argument against the view that the Devil is the one who has taken captive in this passage. It should be remembered that Satan's capture is not one in which man remains alive—that always implies spiritual death. However, when God captures a man and brings him under His power, that man remains spiritually alive here on earth and most certainly in heaven. The Christian's past capture refers to his conversion when he was first brought under the rule of God. His "continuing to be caught alive" refers to that captivity which the power of God has in him over his flesh and whole being. This capture by God of the Christian is not comparable to the capture which leads to death or exile, but rather is like the capture of a city where the occupants are placed under a new government and ruler. Sanctification consists in becoming more and more a captive of God so that we are more and more under His rule, under His power, all the while subduing our evil flesh by that power.

H. "disarm"

ἀπεκδύομαι

Occurs in: 1. Colossians 2:15

Background:

There are no ancient references for this word as far as the writer was able to find. However, the meaning of the word according to Thayer is, "wholly to strip off something, despoil, dispoil, disarm."²¹ The noun derived from the same root, ἡ ἀπέκδυσις,

21. Thayer, op. cit., p. 56.

means "a putting off like clothes or armor."

1. Colossians 2:15 : "Having stripped the rulerships and authorities, He put them to shame publicly..."

Anselm used this passage in some strange way to prove that
²²
 Christ descended into Hell. However, there is no reference here in that connection. This passage speaks of God spoiling or despoiling the "rulerships and authorities." The context indicates a picture of Christ as the victor in a battle. He has fought and conquered and now, as the victor, takes away the things belonging to the vanquished foe. He is the "Stronger One" mentioned in Luke 11:22. As the conqueror, He takes away the armor in which the enemy trusted and divides the spoils. After he had stripped them of their power and glory, the captives were paraded and humiliated in a triumphal procession. The "rulerships and authorities" refer to persons who exercise rule and authority, those who have trusted in their own might or in earthly power and have fought against God's rule and power.
²³
 Those who have trusted in their own might or in earthly power have fought against God's rule and will find only defeat—God is the Mighty One who will strip and despoil them. When people put their trust in any power other than God's power and place themselves above God, this is a challenge to God's majesty and He will take up the challenge, emerging from the battle as the "Stronger One." The conquered ones must then submit to being stripped of their glory and their power and be humiliated in defeat.

22. Lenski, op. cit., p. 118, (Colossians), is against this view; cf. Meyer, op. cit., p. 309, (Colossians) for a more thorough explanation of Anselm's view.

23. Lenski, op. cit., p. 118, (Colossians), makes this statement.

I. "warring, at war"

ἀντιστρατεύομαι

Occurs in: 1. Romans 7:23

Classical background:

The word is found in Xenophon's Institutio Cyri (v/iv B.C.) with the meaning, "take the field against, make war against." Later the word is used frequently in the active. Dionysius Halicarnassensis (i B.C.) gives us examples of this use.

In a metaphoric usage, Aristaenetus furnishes us with an early example: Ἐρωτες ἀντιστρατεύομαι τοῖς ὑπερφανόυσι.²⁴

1. Romans 7:23 : "I see another law in my members engaged in campaigning against the law of my mind..."

The law which Paul sees in his members is different from the Law of God, in fact, it is the opposite of it. The Law of God is holy, righteous and good, while the law that Paul sees in his members is sinful and evil. The actions of this law in the members are the expressions of the power of sin which is still in the Christian and which is fighting against the Law of God. This "law of the members" fights against "the law of my mind." That means that the evil law expresses itself in the sins of my members as part of the campaign to capture and subdue my mind and will and make me a total captive of sin. "My mind" is contrasted to "my members;" the "Law of God" is contrasted with "another law;" the inner man is contrasted with the outer man.²⁵ Throughout the passage there is a picture of the fierce fighting between the spiritual and the physical,

24. Liddel and Scott, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 163.

25. Lenski, op. cit., p. 485, (Romans) has this idea.

between the things belonging to God and the things belonging to Satan. This continual war is a part of the "good fight of faith" which the Christian must fight.

J. "warfare"

ἡ στρατεία

Occurs in: 1. II Corinthians 10:4
2. I Timothy 1:18

Classical background:

There has been some disputation as to the meaning of this word in the passages quoted. The classic use of the word may be of much help in finding the true meaning here. Herodotus and Thucydides use στρατεία in the sense of "expedition, campaign." In the Greek idiom, ἀπὸ στρατείας, "coming from war, after service is done," the meaning is again that of a "campaign" rather than that of "army." Aeschylus (vi/v B.C.), in his Agamemnon and his Eumenides uses this idiom in that sense. Plato uses another idiom; ἐπὶ στρατείας, i.e., "to be on foreign service," indicating the sense of "campaign" again. The idiom is found in his Symposium (v/iv B.C.). The word is found frequently in the plural with the meaning of "military service, warfare." It occurs thus in Plato's Respublica. In the Leges, Plato also uses this phrase: πρὸς ταῖς αὐτοῦ στρατείας, "in addition to campaigns which he is bound to serve." Aeschines (v/iv B.C.) uses it in the special sense thus: "an expedition for special service, to train the young soldiers next after serving as περί-πολοι". In general, it may be said that στρατεία is

a "varia lectio," and is sometimes undoubtedly used as στρατεία, i.e., "campaign;" but στρατεία, meaning, "army, expeditionary force" is rare. In inscriptions, στρατεία never means "army," but both στρατεία and στρατιά mean "campaign."²⁶

1. II Corinthians 10:4 : "...for the equipment of our campaign is not fleshly, but powerful for God..."

Paul here tells the Christians that they should bear in mind that they are fighting a battle. In this battle they are not equipped with weak human strength, or worldly weapons, but they are fighting with the armor of God and with all the forces of God. They are not using weak, human skill, or using worldly, sinful tactics to gain their victories, but they have weapons furnished by God and receive power to use them mightily from God. The campaign which Paul mentions is not just the small battle of the Corinthian Christians, but is a world-wide battle which involves all Christians against all the forces of the Devil. In Paul's day, the battle line ran through the whole series of churches throughout all Galatia, across the coast of Asia, along Southern Europe and into distant

²⁷ Spain. On this front the Church was fighting to gain ground and win souls for Christ. Now, the battle front is the entire world. It is a world war with a Christian fighting force in every continent. Christians throughout the world are fighting for the hearts and souls of men, using the weapons of the Word and the Spirit to

26. Liddel and Scott, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 1651.

27. Lenski, op. cit., p. 1203, (II Corinthians) states this.

defeat sin and death and gain the victory for Christ and salvation.

2. I Timothy 1:18 : "This charge I commit to thee child Timothy, in accord with the prophecies proceeding in advance to thee, that thou war in connection with them the noble warfare as having faith."

Meyer sums up this passage with the words: "στρατεία denotes the entire Christian warfare, especially here refers to the battles Timothy had to fight against the enemies of the Word—

ἑτεροδιδασκαλοῦντες."²⁸ It might be useful to the interpretation of this passage to consider what is meant by the "prophecies proceeding in advance," since these are the weapons Timothy is to use in his campaign. These prophecies do not seem to be the Old Testament prophecies only. Because of the present participle, it would appear that the Apostolic prophecies and teachings are also meant. These teachings of the New Testament were given to Timothy during his training with Paul and now he is going to put them to use in his ministry. The idea is that Timothy is well equipped and well fortified with teachings and prophecies which he is to use in his campaign against evil. "Timothy is the

στρατηγός —he has a στράτευμα —is engaged in στρατεύειν —is to accomplish τὴν καλὴν στρατείαν."²⁹

K. "to battle, serve as soldier"

στρατεύω

Occurs in: 1. I Corinthians 9:7
2. II Corinthians 10:3

28. Meyer, op. cit., p. 84, (I Timothy).

29. Lenski, op. cit., p. 530, (I Timothy), has this statement.

3. I Timothy 1:18

4. II Timothy 2:4

Classical background:

Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon use the term with the meaning of "advance with an army or fleet, wage war." The phrase ἐστρατευμένοι γὰρ εἶσι, used by Aristophanes (v/iv B.C.) in Ranae, means "they have been soldiers, they have seen war-service." In the classic usage, the Middle voice has the meaning of "serve in the arm." The papyri also have a reference to this word: μηδεὶς ἐαδῆ στρατεύσασθαι, "to join the army"— "Papyri UPZ, (ii B.C.) in Wilken's "Urkunden der Ptolemaeerzeit."³⁰ Thayer defines the word thus: "an encampment, an army." From Herodotus down the meaning is, "to make a military expedition, to lead soldiers to war or to do battle, to do military duty, be on active service."³¹

1. I Corinthians 9:7 : "Who goes soldiering at his own charges ever?"

Paul asks this question here to remind the Christians at Corinth that the soldier is supported by the commander for whom he fights. Paul uses this line of thought to tell these Christians that he deserves their material support because he has been fighting the spiritual battle among them. God furnished his spiritual armor and weapons which were used to fight the spiritual enemies in Corinth, so Paul asks if these Corinthian Christians ought not provide him with the physical needs which are also necessary in life's battles.

30. Liddel and Scott, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 1651.

31. Thayer, op. cit., p. 590.

2. II Corinthians 10:3 : "For while walking in what is (weak, bodily) flesh we are not campaigning after the manner of what is flesh..."

Although the Christian soldier appears weak and seems to lack power according to the flesh, he nevertheless is mighty because he has the equipment which God gave him to fight spiritual battles. God's own wisdom and Word, His Spirit arms the soldier and makes him mighty in the campaign against sin. Not human skill, but God's wisdom and power are the deciding factors in the Christian warfare.

3. I Timothy 1:18 : "...that thou war in connection with them the noble warfare as having faith..."

For an explanation of this war that Timothy is to fight, see the explanation under στρατεία ³² of this same passage.

4. II Timothy 2:4 : "Nobody soldiering entangles himself in the affairs of the (common course of) life..."

The man who enlists in the army steps out of the many cares of civilian life. All of its ordinary affairs no longer concern him because the basic needs of his life are taken care of by the commander. Therefore, the enlistment of a soldier assures him of support and so his one aim should be to make himself a good soldier who is worthy of that support. The Christian soldier should also leave behind the common things belonging to the flesh. He is fed by the Word of God, clothed by Christ's righteousness, and cared for by God's almighty power. He should give himself then, as a good soldier, to his commander and serve Him with all his power.

32. This explanation of I Timothy 1:18 is found on p. 63.

L. "commander, the one who enrolled him"

στρατολογέω

Occurs in: 1. II Timothy 2:4

Classical background:

"To levy an army, enlist soldiers," is the sense of the term when used by Dionysius Halicarnassensis (1 B.C.) in Antiquitas Judaicae. The noun ἡ στρατολογία³³ is also used in the same source with the meaning of "levying an army."

1. II Timothy 2:4 : "Nobody soldiering entangles himself in the affairs of the life in order that he may please him who enlisted him as soldier."

Only that soldier who gives himself up entirely to military service and does not allow himself to be distracted by other affairs fulfills the will of the general.³⁴ God is pleased with the Christian soldier when he cuts himself off from the disturbing and entangling alliances with the things of this world which hinder him in the performance of his duty. The Christian's general asks for a "pure heart," a heart which is unalloyed in its devotion and desires. The fighting and serving of the Christian soldier must be for God. A man cannot serve two masters, so he must strive to concentrate on his spiritual duties to God. The general of the Christian army furnishes power and helps his soldiers to make themselves good soldiers who are devoted to Him and His work.

33. Liddel and Scott, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 1653.

34. Meyer, op. cit., p. 226, (II Timothy) makes this comment.

M. "to stand"

ἵστημι

- Occurs in:
1. I Corinthians 15:1
 2. Ephesians 6:11
 3. Ephesians 6:13
 4. Ephesians 6:14
 5. Philippians 1:27

Classical background:

There are frequent examples and references in ancient literature where this word is used with a military meaning. For example, Sophocles (v B.C.) in Electra, used the phrase like this: στῆσαι λόγχας, meaning, "stand for battle." Homer in the Iliad used the word in this way: πρὸς δ' ἐξόπιθε στῆσεν, "to set men in order or array." The command to halt the marching soldiers in the phalanx used this word thus: στῆσαι τὴν φάλαγγα, as we see in Xenophon's (v/iv B.C.) Institutio Cyri. The military custom of setting out guards was expressed in these words: φύλακας στησόμεθα, as Plato (v/iv B.C.) records in Respublica. The metaphoric meaning of "stand firm," in connection with a soldier holding his place in the line of battle is used by Xenophon in the Historia Graeca.³⁵

1. I Corinthians 15:1 : "Now I remind you, brethren, of the Gospel which I preached unto you, which also you received, in which you also stand..."

If we interpret ἑστήκατε here with a military meaning

35. Liddel and Scott, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 841.

the sense is very beautiful and very apt. The picture of a Christian soldier standing ready for battle, fully armed with the panoply of God; faith, truth, the Word, and the Spirit, is a wonderful type of what the Christian life should be. He is provided by God with his weapons and his protective armor and now he stands in readiness against any attack. Even picturing the Christian actually in battle would fit. He is then to use the equipment which God has provided to repel all assaults of sin and stand firm in his place. ³⁶

2. Ephesians 6:11 : "Put on the whole armor of God for you to be able to stand against the expert methods of the devil."

The figure here is one of a Christian actually in battle. He is engaged in a fight-to-the-finish battle against "the expert methods of the Devil." The purpose of the whole armor of God is that we may be able to parry the blows of Satan and defend ourself from his attacks. With the panoply of God we can hold our position against the foe no matter how severe the fighting may become. ³⁷ Perhaps there is a thought here of the Greek phalanx. All Christians should stand firm in the battle against Satan, providing a solid front against his assaults. Each Christian is a vital part in that front line fighting and, if one does not "stand firm," the line is susceptible to greater temptations and sins because of that gap.

3. Ephesians 6:13 : "Because of this take up the whole armor of God in order that you may be able to withstand in the wicked day,

36. Thayer's view of this passage—the Christian in battle, cf. op. cit., p. 307.

and, having accomplished everything, to stand!"

The aorist tense is again used in this passage. It gives the meaning of "stand once and for all, stand successfully."³⁸ The picture is much the same as that of the previously treated passage. The only difference is that "the evil day" is mentioned specifically here. The "evil day of temptations" means that day when the Devil comes against us with all of his "expert methods."

4. Ephesians 6:11 : "Stand, then, having girded your loins..."

The conclusion of the series of "stands" is reached in this passage. In verse 11 there was, "to stand firm"—verse 13 mentioned "to withstand—to stand victoriously"—this verse says, "stand then, ready and prepared!" In this passage the force of the word is constantive and not ingressive—"stand as victors who are fully prepared to continue standing."³⁹ "Having accomplished everything" refers to the fact that the Christian soldier has fought the temptations of Satan through the power of God, and having repelled them and conquered them, he stands as victor.

5. Philippians 1:27 : "Only continue conduct in a way worthy of the Gospel of Christ in order that...I may get to hear regarding the things concerning you that you are standing firm in one spirit, with one soul contending together for the faith of the Gospel..."

Hayes finds in this passage a picture of the Christian soldier which many commentaries often overlook. His idea is that Paul "prays that they (the Christians) may stand fast like an

38. Lenski, op. cit., p. 664, (Ephesians).

39. Ibid., p. 662, (Ephesians); his view.

immovable phalanx." ⁴⁰ The idea fits very well in this passage for the whole thought of Paul's talk here is to commend the Christians in Philippi because they are united in the common spirit of faith. The picture of them presenting a united front against evil and ungodliness is stimulated when we think of them as a phalanx of soldiers moving through the enemy with a solid force. Together they can help each other, encourage each other, silence one another's fears and be strong in that fellowship against Satan.

N. "victory"

τὸ νῖκος

- Occurs in:
1. I Corinthians 15:54
 2. I Corinthians 15:55
 3. I Corinthians 15:57

Classical background:

νῖκος is the later form for νίκη; for example, see the Septuagint version of I Esra 3:9. This form, νῖκος, is found in the papyri as recorded in the Berliner Griechische Urkunden. In ancient Greek mythology, "Nike" was the goddess of victory according to Hesiodus' Theogonia.⁴¹

1. I Corinthians 15:54 : "Swallowed up was death in victory."

Paul here quotes Isaiah 25:8 : "He (Jehovah) swallows up death forever," which the Septuagint translated: "Death, having prevailed, swallowed up men." Paul rejects the Septuagint translation and retranslates the Hebrew, changing the verb from active to

⁴⁰ O. D. A. Hayes, Paul and His Epistles, p. 415.
⁴¹ Liddel and Scott, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 1176.

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passive. In this passage, Paul is speaking of the Resurrection on the Last Day. At that time, death will be completely conquered. Until that Day, death will have power even over the Christian in that his body must die and be put in the grave. But at the Last Day, the victory will be complete, for death will receive no one into its complete power. Death has lost the victory because the power of eternal life has won over it in the case of all believers in Christ. The apparent victory for death now when our bodies lie in dust and decay will be reversed so that death is completely vanquished and our bodies live in absolute victory for eternity.

2. I Corinthians 15:55 : "Where death, thy victory?"

This is a taunt or a triumph song. The apparent victory of death in our bodies is snatched away at the resurrection. Christ steps in with His gift of eternal life for all believers and death itself is vanquished. It is stripped of its power as a victor strips his fallen foe, and it is no more.

3. I Corinthians 15:57 : "But to God thanks, to Him that gives to us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ."

Just as the victories won by the Christian soldier here on earth are not accomplished through his own power, but through the power and strength which God has given him, so our victory over death is not of our own doing. This verse names the true conqueror. This last phrase of the "victory passage" in I Corinthians 15 tells us Christ is the Victor. He is the medium through whom the victory

gift becomes ours. As our leader, He has won the battle, but He divides the spoils among His soldiers who have "fought the good fight."

O. "to be conquerors, victorious"

ὑπερβικᾶν

Occurs in: 1. Romans 8:37

Classical background:

The classic usage indicates the meaning of "prevail completely over." It is used in this manner by Hippocrates (v B.C.). Libanius in Descriptiones uses it in connection with τὰς χάριτας.⁴³

1. Romans 8:37 : "We keep achieving the most brilliant victory..."

Meyer sees in this passage "a victory that is more than a victory." He quotes Luther's translation of it to show the super-lative meaning of the word: "we overcome far."⁴⁴ Paul has just finished talking about the evils and persecution that a Christian will experience. His word of encouragement is that although these evils beset us, and even though they may hurt our body, we can still conquer them and keep them from harming our faith and soul. We achieve the victory not only by enduring the evils, but by enjoying them because they are a sign that we are in the army of Christ. Instead of separating us from Christ, these evils make us closer to Christ because we must rely on Him to conquer them. We win the victory through "Him who love us."

⁴³. Liddel and Scott, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 1866.

⁴⁴. Meyer, op. cit., p. 343, (Romans).

P. "to make an example of, to show as an example" δειγματίσω

Occurs in: 1. Colossians 2:15

Classical background:

The word was unknown to the ancient classical writers. It is found in line 30 on the Rosetta stone, however, in this form: δειγματισμός. Thayer gives the meaning, "to expose one to disgrace," and uses the illustration of Matthew 1:19, where Joseph did not want to put Mary to public shame by a divorce scandal.
45

1. Colossians 2:15 : "Having stripped the rulerships and authorities, He put them to shame publicly by causing a triumph over them in connection with Him."

It was a custom in the Roman empire to fete the returning armies when they were victorious. The Roman emperors of the time, or the senate granted a victorious general the honor of a grand display of his spoils and captives. This took the form of a glorious procession through the streets of Rome. The general with his victorious army, the captives bound in chains, stripped, and humiliated, all the spoils and booty that had been captured were displayed to the public along the triumphal route.
46 Christ has triumphed over the "rulerships and authorities," and after stripping them of their power and glory, leads them as captives as an example to the world. Those who usurp authority, who make themselves proud and mighty, are made low by Christ. The salvation which God offers men neces-

45. Thayer, op. cit., p. 126.

46. For an illustration of the Roman triumphal procession see "The Roman Way" by Edith Hamilton, p. 587 in The National Geographic Magazine, November, 1946.

sitates that these men have a humble heart and a complete reliance on Him. Where this does not happen, God often uses very forceful means to bring them down from their high station for their own welfare and for an example to others.

Q. "leading in triumph"

Ὀρὶαμβεύω

Occurs in: 1. II Corinthians 2:14

2. Colossians 2:15

Classical background:

a Ὀρὶαμβος was a hymn sung in the festal processions in honor of Bacchus. The triumphal song chanted during the triumphal processions was also given this name. The connection between the Latin "triumphus" and the Greek Ὀρὶαμβος⁴⁷ should be noted as a very possible connection.

1. II Corinthians 2:14 : "But thanks to God, to Him who always causes us to triumph in Christ and who makes manifest the odor of the knowledge of Him by means of us in every place."

Ramsay translates the passage in this way: "Thanks be to God, who always leads us (His soldiers) in the train of His triumph, and makes manifest through us the fragrance of His knowledge in every place..." His explanation is that "we were the soldiers who march behind Him in His triumph as the soldiers of the victorious army always did."⁴⁸

The meaning of Ὀρὶαμβεύοντι is quite unusual in this passage. Lightfoot calls it a "hiphil or causative force with

47. Thayer, op. cit., p. 292.

48. W. M. Ramsay, Luke the Physician, p. 297.

the accusative of a person; "to cause one to triumph, i.e., metaphorically, "to grant one complete success."⁴⁹ At any rate, the picture is again that of a commander and his army celebrating a grand triumphal procession. All Christians are included in the victorious army which has conquered the forces of ungodliness and has stripped Satan of his power. In this picture of the conqueror's parade, Paul extends the imagery by speaking about the fragrance or odor which is God's knowledge or wisdom. In the triumphal processions, flowers were thrown along the path of the parade and vessels with burning incense were carried. God's knowledge or wisdom as revealed in the plan of salvation through Christ is a sweet and exciting odor to the victors, the Christians, but to the captives in the procession it was bitter and harsh because they would be exiled or killed at the end of the procession.⁵⁰

2. Colossians 2:15 : "Having stripped the rulerships and authorities, He put them to shame publicly by causing a triumph over them in connection with Him."

Here again is a picture of the Roman triumphal march. Ramsay comments on this passage in this manner: "Nothing is sufficient to express the completeness and absoluteness of the Divine victory except a Roman triumph."⁵¹ Here, the captives who are led in the victorious procession are specifically mentioned—the "rulerships and authorities." This is the celebration of the victory won by God over all the demoniacal powers. The Christians who fought

49. Quoted in Thayer, op. cit., p. 297.

50. Lenski, op. cit., p. 897, (II Corinthians), makes this point.

51. Ramsay, op. cit., p. 298.

with God are celebrating this triumph also. For a more complete description of the triumphal procession see the preceeding explanation on II Corinthians 2:14.⁵²

R. "praetorian, praetorian guard"

τὸ πραιτώριον

Occurs in: 1. Philippians 1:13

Classical background:

It is mentioned in the Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae (ii A.D.).⁵³ Other than this, there were no references which the writer could locate.

1. Philippians 1:13 : "...my bonds got to be published as in connection with Christ in the entire praetorium and (among) all the rest..."

There are several views concerning what the "praetorium" really is. Some consider it to be the official residence of the governor as in Matthew 27:27; others think it is the "praetorian guard" after a phrase from the Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae (Tyre, ii A.D.): ἑπαρχος πραιτωρίου, τοῦ πραιτωρίου; and still others take it to mean the "imperial household." The view that is most satisfactory to the writer is that this word refers to the "praetorian guard," that is, those soldiers and officers who lived in the barracks of the praetorian guard. Lenski points out that this was the name for the barracks of the emperor's guard, the "castra praetoria" outside the "Porta Viminalis."⁵⁴

52. See page 74f for explanation of II Corinthians 2:14

53. Liddel and Scott, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 1458.

54. Lenski, op. cit., p. 725, (Philippians).

In a sermon study on this passage, Dr. Theo. Laetsch quotes this view of Lenski.⁵⁵ This guard was a body of picked men all of whom were of Italian birth. Because it was a large group and because of its honored position in connection with the emperor, this body of men wielded a great influence in the state. While Paul was in prison, he came in daily contact with various members of this guard. Because of his trials, it seems more than likely that he became a widely talked about person with many of the guards personally interested in him. It is almost certain that Paul talked about the Savior to his guards, so these influential men became exposed to the Gospel and God may have worked the miracle of faith in them. In this way the knowledge of the Gospel was carried into the most influential places and the message of salvation was bound to be spread among many. This is an evidence of the marvelous workings of God to spread the message of a Savior from sin among men.

3. "fellow-soldier"

συστρατιώτης

Occurs in: 1. Philippians 2:25
2. Philemon 1:2

Classical background:

The term is used in this sense by Xenophon in Respublica; by Aristoteles (iv B.C.) in Ethica Nicomachia; and is also found in the Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones.⁵⁶

1. Philippians 2:25 : "Now I consider it necessary to send to you

55. The Concordia Theological Monthly, vol. 7, p. 129; quote from Lenski, Eisenach Epistle Selections, p. 340f.

56. Liddel and Scott, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 1736.

Epaphroditus, my brother and fellow worker and fellow soldier..."

2. Philemon 1:2 : "To Philemon...and to Archippus, our fellow soldier..."

The expression "fellow soldier" in both of these passages marks both Epaphroditus and Archippus as captains in God's army, fighting against the evils in their world and battling against the evils of sin and temptation sent against them by Satan. This expression sets up the idea of the joint working against the hostile powers of the Devil and the world. All Christians are "fellow soldiers" with each other, united by a common bond of faith and love against a common foe.

VI. Conclusion

After we have examined the numerous references which Paul makes to the military life of his day, one thing should stand out. It should be evident that Paul used these metaphores and terms because he found much similarity between the life of the soldier and the life of the Christian. The strict training and discipline of the man in the armed forces was admired by Paul, so he tried to stimulate the Christian soldier to follow suit in preparing himself for service to God and in giving himself to the obedience of God's Will. The devotion to duty which Paul saw and which he must have respected in the Roman soldier is set as an example before the Christian soldier so that he gives not just a fraction of his life, his talents or his energies to God's service and work, but submits his whole being with all of the gifts God has given him. The effectiveness of the Roman soldier with his equipment in winning battles and wars leads Paul to the illustration of the Christian soldier with God's equipment, winning battles against sin and the war against Satan. It is difficult to imagine a better picture of the Christian life than that which Paul presents when he compares the Christian to the soldier. It is difficult to find more apt metaphores of the use of the Word and the general activities of the Christian

in this life than that which Paul uses in the picture of the Christian soldier dressed in the panoply of God. And, it is difficult to illustrate the workings of God in a Christian in a more concise and beautiful way than the manner in which Paul presents the concept of the Christian soldier and his General. In concrete, everyday terms the Apostle reveals the mysteries of God and the life of the Christian.

So, it is hoped that this effort will lead someone to a deeper understanding of this small portion of Paul's greatness. Above all, it is the writer's wish that this small study of just a fraction of Scripture may enrich the faith and knowledge of someone who may be interested enough to read it. As it has helped the writer to think of our life as a Christian battle, may the same thought lead others to examine and review their fight in the faith.

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Page	Line	Correction
21	1 and 2	Read <u>αὐτὸς</u> for <u>ἐφ' αὐτόν</u>
22	3	Read <u>ἐφ' αὐτόν</u> for <u>ἐφ' αὐτόν</u>
23	2 and 3	Read <u>ἐφ' αὐτόν</u> for <u>ἐφ' αὐτόν</u>
24	4	Read <u>ἐφ' αὐτόν</u> for <u>ἐφ' αὐτόν</u>
25	21	Read <u>ἐφ' αὐτόν</u> for <u>ἐφ' αὐτόν</u>
		for <u>ἐφ' αὐτόν</u> read <u>ἐφ' αὐτόν</u>
26	16	Read <u>ἐφ' αὐτόν</u> for <u>ἐφ' αὐτόν</u>
27	17	Read <u>ἐφ' αὐτόν</u> for <u>ἐφ' αὐτόν</u>
		for <u>ἐφ' αὐτόν</u> read <u>ἐφ' αὐτόν</u>
28	18	Read <u>ἐφ' αὐτόν</u> for <u>ἐφ' αὐτόν</u>
29	2	Read <u>ἐφ' αὐτόν</u> as on page 28.

Corrections

Page	Line	Correction
32	1 and 4	Read <u>ὑπεός</u> for <u>ὑπέος</u> .
39	3	Read wrapped for wra-pped.
42	last	Read metaphors for metaphores
50	6	Read Judgment Day for Judgement Day.
61	21	Read <u>πρὸς ταῖς αὐτοῦ στρατείαις</u> for <u>πρὸς ταῖς αὐτοῦ στρατείαις</u> .
62	16	Read against for again st .
64	19	Read deserves for des-erves.
76	17	Read <u>τοῦ πρᾶκτωρίου</u> for <u>τοῦ πρᾶκτικῶν</u> .
79	20	Read metaphors for metaphores.
84	9	Same correction as on page 32.